

C-23 Sherpa transport aircraft — even though the Army has not requested it.

The unrequested Sherpas are the result of skillful lobbying by Shorts Brothers of Belfast, Northern Ireland.

■ Another shocking example involved Diagnostic Retrieval Systems, Inc. of Oakland, N.J. This electronics firm receives millions in Navy contracts. In 1988, after the Navy canceled plans to purchase DRS-made sonar-signal processors in favor of more modern equipment, the late Rep. Bill Chappell, D-Fla., then Defense Appropriations Subcommittee chair, came to the rescue. He pressed the Navy into spending \$12.8 million for the processors. Grateful DRS officials and their families contributed \$4,500 to his 1988 campaign.

Chappell was defeated that year when his back-door deals with defense contractors be-

lieved a former staff aide to Murtha and Chappell. This year's defense budget includes \$2.4 million for DRS.

PENTAGON PORK is doled out in greatest secrecy, buried in deliberately vague language in appropriations bills that only insiders can figure out. For instance, a provision in the 1994 House defense bill involves a \$1 million appropriation for "a joint venture project involving a western Pennsylvania educational institution to develop and test a new form of insulin which will prevent hypoglycemia in dependents of active-duty military members." The institution is Indiana University of Indiana, Pa., where Murtha did graduate work.

Many of the defense bill's hidden items have no military justification. More than \$1.3 billion in the 1994 bill is for environmental programs and AIDS and cancer research.

alienate Congress.

The White House? Forget it. Deals were cut with members of Congress in return for their votes on the North American Free Trade Agreement.

How can defense-budget excesses be curbed? Sen. McCain and Rep. Brown have proposed stopping the practice of directing procurements to favored contractors; contracts would have to be awarded on the basis of merit and open competition.

Reforms won't pass without a fight. Pork-barrel projects in the defense budget always come cloaked as benefits for the folks back home. But those benefits go to a few. In the long run, the wasteful spending hurts us all.

Greg Rushford is an investigative journalist. This article was excerpted from an article in the October 1994 Reader's Digest.

America, many deaf people succeed at oral language.

If they are exposed to sign language, especially during early childhood when language capacity blossoms, they learn it easily.

Once they have that facility, they understand the concepts of language. English, written and spoken, then becomes a second language. But a child with no language skills by 6 or 7 will never catch up.

Deaf people may not be able to hear as we do. But their story reminds the rest of us that all too often hearing people cannot listen. Which is the greater disability?

Sara Engram is editorial-page director of The Baltimore Evening Sun.

Hawaiians considering 4 types of sovereignty

By Peter Rosegg
Advertiser Staff Writer

THREE-quarters of us, according to the Honolulu Advertiser/Ghannel 2 News Hawaii Poll, believe some form of Hawaiian self-rule is possible within the state and federal system.

What form might that take?

Here are four possible "models" of Hawaiian sovereignty, based on writings and speeches by those active in various aspects of the movement:

■ Total independence

The ultimate goal of some is separation from the United States and a return to an independent, internationally recognized Hawaiian nation. T-shirts showing Hawaii jumping off the American flag with the slogan, "Last star on, First star off" may symbolize this vision of sovereignty.

But there are many different versions of how it might be set up regarding citizenship, non-Hawaiians' land holdings, form of government and so on.

Among advocates is Poka Laenui, also known as Hayden Burgess, a

University of Hawaii-trained attorney and director of his own Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs.

The Provisional Government of the Independent Nation State of Hawaii — the name now used by the Ohana Council led by Dennis "Bumpy" Kanahéle — is another separatist group.

■ Nation within a nation

The United States contains about 300 dependent native American nations. Their rights and obligations are "recognized" by Congress, usually in a treaty.

That is one model for an internal Hawaiian nation, whose voting citizens would likely all be of Hawaiian ancestry, recognized by the U.S. government.

Ka Lahui Hawai'i, lead by Kia'aina (Governor) Mililani Trask, is one group with this vision. Ka Lahui claims 24,000 citizens and held a constitutional convention to establish a democratic "government."

Many members of the 30,000-strong State Council of Hawaiian Homestead Associations also believe their organization could qualify for federal recog-



nition. The associations include Hawaiians already living on homestead lands.

Under this model, "Hawaiians will generally continue to live, work and worship as they do today. Jobs, social security, retirement or pension from the U.S. or state of Hawaii will not be affected," say Mahealani Kamau'u executive director of the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation and attorney H.K. Bruss Keppeler, president of the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs in "The Price of Paradise II."

Some separatists see the nation-

within-a-nation as a step toward total independence.

■ State within a state

Some say sovereignty already exists in the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, proposed by the 1978 Constitutional Convention and ratified by Hawaii voters. Only those of Hawaiian ancestry may vote for or serve on the OHA board or receive benefits. The OHA voter roll has about 71,000 registered voters.

"OHA has the constitutional power to hold and manage lands entrusted to it. It has the right to receive and disburse monies from public lands," wrote senior federal Judge Samuel P. King, a part-Hawaiian.

Many sovereignty activists, however, attack OHA as a "creature" of the state, an agency without accountability whose image has been tarnished by petty scandals and in-fighting.

"We should be expending our energies on how to strengthen and improve or change OHA," said King, "rather than dividing our efforts among voluntary organizations, each of whom claims to represent all Hawaiians."

■ Where do gubernatorial candidates stand on sovereignty? / Page A1

■ Editorial: All Hawaii should be know the answer / Page B2

■ Status quo

"Many Hawaiians are reasonably happy with the existing forms of government but irate over past wrongs," wrote Kamau'u and Keppeler. "They stand behind initiatives that would give Hawaiians as a class the right to sue the U.S. for reparations and redress."

"These Hawaiians are keenly aware of the loss of water rights, the erosion of Hawaiian private trust assets and the sad health and social statistics of Hawaiians. And they want something done about it now."

"But they enjoy federal, state and county services... (And) when the cards are down, they cannot see themselves taking the final step to sovereignty."

Sovereignty

All Hawaii should know
where candidates stand

Some Hawaiian groups don't want see any activities aimed at Hawaiian sovereignty take place under the auspices of state government.

But that would be a poor reason for members of those groups not to pay close attention to — and participate in — this year's state gubernatorial elections.

At the same time, the non-Hawaiian community must realize what an enormous stake it also has in this debate.

The Hawaiian Sovereignty Elections Commission will schedule a plebiscite by mail for about a year from now. About 200,000 people of Hawaiian ancestry will be able to vote whether to begin a process toward restoration of some kind of Hawaiian sovereignty.

Some Hawaiians object to the plebiscite and a constitutional convention that might follow, arguing that the process should spring from them, rather than being handed down by state government.


We haven't yet seen an alternate proposal that would as effectively embrace the entire Hawaiian community. But that could change.

In the meantime, numerous questions of vital interest to Hawaiians are being debated by the candidates for governor. Not the least of them: Each has a stated preference for the form

that Hawaiian sovereignty should take.

The candidates also have different proposals to get the 17,000 qualified applicants onto their Hawaiian Home lands.

The candidates' positions on sovereignty and other Hawaiian issues are laid out clearly before you today, in Advertiser reporter Peter Rosegg's stories on the front page, and on Page A3.



VOTERS' AGENDA

beyond sound bites to in-depth exploration of issues people care about.

The four candidates for governor were quizzed recently by panels of community members as part of POP '94. Questions came from more than 4,000 sent in by Advertiser readers and others.

We hope you'll read the results on Hawaiian issues carefully, so that you can cast an informed, sensitive vote.



VOTERS' AGENDA

Higher taxes

Candidates get the message

Pity the poor candidates



Soviet-U.S. ties need work

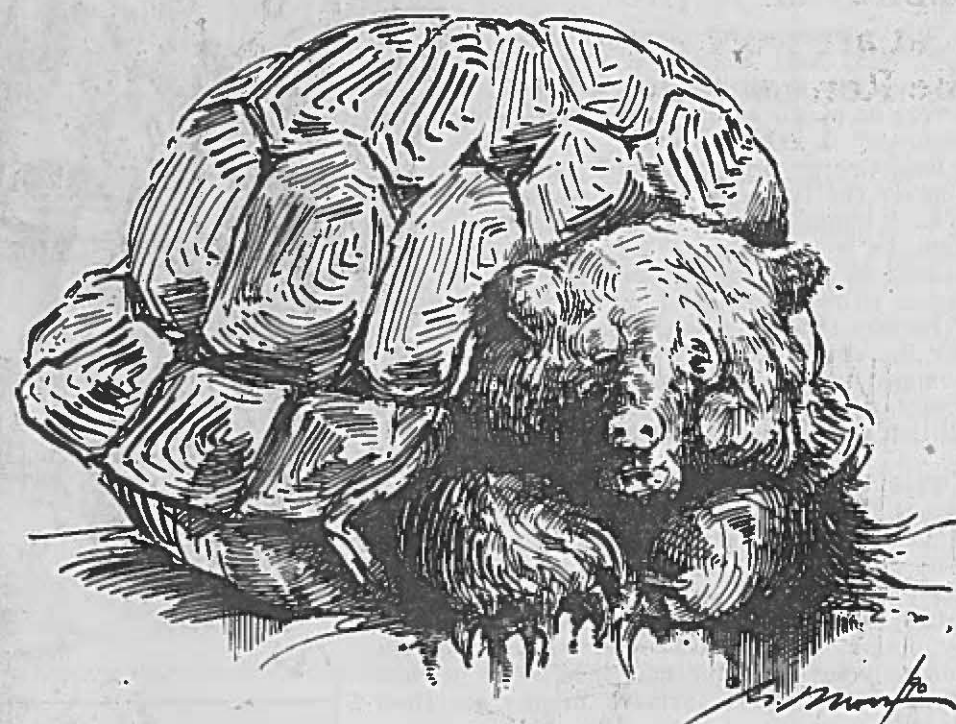
By Stephen S. Rosenfeld
The Washington Post

WASHINGTON — The rhetoric of the Clinton-Yeltsin summit says that two good buddies are cooperating and working on their differences, but the reality is that on the Russian side there is a creeping apprehension that cooperation on American terms may seriously diminish the Yeltsin reform regime.

Russians, pointing to progress on the political and economic fronts at home, believe their country is becoming "normal," a status they treasure. Americans are not entirely sure, but they want it to happen. Russians, picking up the hesitation, think that Americans have not entirely shed their Cold War reflexes of distrust. They want Americans to make ample room for them in their thoughts and in their policies and to recognize Russia's interests as a great power. The result in Moscow of American hesitation, they fear, is to reinforce currents of nationalism on the one hand and isolationism on the other.

These are some of the grievances that outlasted the summit and continue feeding Russian discomfort:

■ Washington seeks a global system of restraints on certain high-tech and military exports to states like Iran, an American nemesis. But



— Haiti, where Russia goes along.

■ To settle down the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Washington pushes Moscow not to deploy its own forces. Instead it supports the summoning of an all-European security group, which happens to have no military experience or capability

Ukraine, a difficult patient.

Still, Russia needs to be more alert to the suspicions generated by the spectacle of Russian troops on the move. The army has units left over in nearly a dozen of the old Soviet republics — a political presence if not a military lever. Russians can be

Higher taxes

Candidates get the message

Pity the poor candidates. In this election year they are pressed at every turn by constituents who demand more programs, more facilities, more solutions from government.

Those who don't make promises are in trouble. Don't they even care about us?

It's a terrible bind. Candidates know what voters want. But they also know that voters aren't willing to pay for it.

Want proof? Take a look at the latest Advertiser/Channel 2 News Hawaii Poll in today's paper. Fully two-thirds of Island voters don't want to pay higher taxes for anything.

About a quarter said they might be willing to swallow higher taxes for something, but there was no unanimity among

The Advertiser

CHANNEL 2 NEWS

HAWAII POLL

this brave group. Education was the favorite, but even here the number willing to pay more for better service was less than one-tenth of those polled.

The message: It's unfair to ask our candidates to make promises if we're not willing to let them raise the resources needed to deliver. And if the Hawaii Poll is any indication, we aren't.

Defeating polio

Inspiring health achievement

Remember the "iron lung" that was required for polio victims who could no longer breathe on their own because of polio?

Remember the kids in leg braces? And the families who wouldn't let healthy kids play outside in summertime as a precaution against the dread disease?

Dr. Jonas Salk developed the first effective vaccine against polio in 1954, and Dr. Albert Sabin followed up with the oral vaccine used to this day. Remember the lines of school children waiting to be immunized?

It worked.

Polio has been eradicated from the Western Hemisphere, according to the World Health Organization, as the result of an ambitious immunization campaign. The last case was a 3-year-old in Peru in 1991.

The hope now is that it will be wiped out globally by 2000. Eighty-one percent of the world's children have been immunized.

Smallpox disappeared from the globe by 1977. Next, officials plan to target measles — another vaccine-preventable illness that kills 1 million people annually, mostly children.

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that outlasted the summit and continue feeding Russian discomfort:

■ Washington seeks a global system of restraints on certain high-tech and military exports to states like Iran, an American nemesis. But Washington does not heed the potential of a nationalist backlash against Yeltsin for "bowing" to Clinton on arms for Iran. Meanwhile, the United States ignores exports of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism from Saudi Arabia, an American friend. The reaction could yet lead Russia to set up a separate system of restraints.

■ Even as Russia is criticized for leaning on the former Soviet republics in its "near abroad," Americans ignore Moscow's huge subsidies (\$17 billion in a year) in un- and underpaid energy shipments to these otherwise bereft new states. But if Moscow went isolationist and demanded full and prompt payment, the resulting stress would generate "millions" of refugees to Russia.

■ Washington insists that the United Nations make ready to subsidize a second-stage Haiti intervention for which Russia would partly pay. But it lets the United Nations duck Russian appeals for a parallel intervention in Georgia's Abkhazia. Russia is criticized for its policy there, even as the United States does far pushier things in — ah, yes

Armenia and Azerbaijan, which pushes Moscow not to deploy its own forces. Instead it supports the summoning of an all-European security group, which happens to have no military experience or capability and no budget.

YELTSIN CAME to Washington on the heels of a well-publicized Russian intelligence report declaring that the West had no good reason to equate Russia's natural and helpful attempts at "reintegration" among the former Soviet republics with a reassertion of empire. The content and timing of the report had the ring of a warning to Yeltsin to hang in there. The "nationalist" position, although not its fascist aspect, is now in the Russian mainstream.

No matter, Yeltsin had a point about reintegration: These links with the new states, if done right and on a voluntary basis, promise mutual benefit.

No one else is ready to police the tremendous disorder in the Transcaucasus and Central Asian regions. No government in Moscow can ignore the several tens of millions of Russians left marooned by the Soviet breakup: "Once they lived at home," said Yeltsin, "and now they are guests and not always welcomed." Though slowly, Russia has released the Baltics. It nurses

to the spectacle of Russian troops on the move. The army has units left over in nearly a dozen of the old Soviet republics — a political presence if not a military lever. Russians can be too quick to dismiss historically based skepticism about their intentions as evidence of foreign pressure and incipient encirclement.

I AM, NONETHELESS, persuaded that the Yeltsin circle, as friendly to America as any group you could imagine ruling in Moscow, is dead serious about the political risks of its policy. To its right are the nationalists, an ugly crew, who want to throw Russian weight around. To its left are the isolationists, living in a dream world, who want Russia to pull up the ladder and to retreat from concern for the security and welfare of the other new states.

Engagement with the United States offers a middle path. But to be expanded and sustained, it must be done on terms that allow Yeltsin to maintain his political balance. That doesn't mean Yeltsin must be accommodated whatever — on fencing the old East Europe off from NATO, for instance. It does mean Washington must never undervalue its interest in the consolidation of a normal democratic state in Moscow.

Candidates, this means you

AS of tomorrow, we are just five weeks away from the General Election. In those remaining 35 days, pressures will mount, small issues will balloon into big ones, the spin doctors will dispense their advice on "positioning," television ads will seek to create winning images, and perception will surpass content in the minds of many. As this all happens, our business community will be looking to all of you who are candidates to remain focused on the real issues facing our state and on your vision of how those issues should be addressed. You must keep your eye on the ball.

THE PRIVATE-sector businesses of Hawaii are the source of our state's economic well-being. It is from the private sector that all jobs, all money, all taxes ultimately spring. The private sector business community is Hawaii's economic engine and that engine is running very, very rough.

Major components of our economic base are in decline with no clear replacement growth industries emerging. The source of a competent labor pool, our education system, is in terrible disarray. Businesses of all sizes are struggling with soaring costs. Assaulted from all sides by high taxes, mandated personnel benefits, increasing commercial lease fees, huge workers' comp increases, and a



ISLAND VOICES

Paul R. Lister
President
Chamber of Commerce
of Hawaii

smothering maze of government regulations, our companies see themselves in an environment that is, at best, unhelpful and, at worst, outright hostile. Companies of all sizes are having difficulties, but small businesses are being especially hard hit, as they often are the ones without any cushion of reserves.

The year 1994 has seen the number of chamber members going out-of-business in one year exceed 100 companies for the first time in anyone's memory. I hear talk on a daily basis by long-term Hawaii business people who are considering leaving the Islands for the first time in their lives.

WORSE, HAWAII is becoming noted for another export — it's children! Our sons and daughters are abandoning any hope of an economic future here and are seeking opportunities in Colorado, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Utah and, especially, Nevada.

Political leadership — real, honest

and visionary — has never been more needed than now. Don't tell us how dishonest your opponents are. Don't give us slick TV commercials about your roots or how much you love kids and dogs. Don't wave any flags or show us pictures of you walking through parks or into sunsets.

INSTEAD, TELL us your vision of what our state will look like when the century turns. Tell us what you are going to do to create an infrastructure that will bring new industries and new jobs to Hawaii.

Tell us exactly how you are going to give our kids a better shot at the 21st century by improving their schools. Tell us how you will get government off of our backs and create a positive business climate.

Tell us how you will go about reallocating our scarce tax resources away from nonproductive, sinecured state employees and toward building a stronger economic base. Tell us where you will lead us. Tell us how you will lead us.

All of Hawaii's businessmen and businesswomen are waiting and listening.

□

Island Voices welcomes community commentary. Send to: Island Voices, The Honolulu Advertiser, P.O. Box 3110, Honolulu 96802 (Fax: 525-8037).